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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN
THE UNITED STATES—PART 1
(Foreign Propaganda—Entry and Dissemination)

HEARING
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

JUNE 13, 1956

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

(INCLUDING INDEX)



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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress (1946), chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121, STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *
17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *
(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.
(A) Un-American Activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make, from time to time, investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 84TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 5, 1955

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEE

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress:

* * * * *
(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.
* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

- * * * * *
17. Committee on Un-American Activities.
(a) Un-American Activities.

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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES—PART 1

(Foreign Propaganda—Entry and Dissemination)

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 13, 1956

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities convened, pursuant to recess in the caucus room of the House Office Building, Hon. Morgan M. Moulder (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Moulder (presiding), Walter (appearance as noted), Doyle, Willis, Kearney, and Scherer. Staff members present: Richard Arens, director.

Mr. MOULDER. The record will show that the subcommittee, composed of Representatives Clyde Doyle, of California; Gordon H. Scherer, of Ohio; Bernard W. Kearney, of New York; and myself, Morgan M. Moulder, of Missouri, has been duly appointed by the chairman of the full committee to conduct the proceedings in the hearing to be held at this time.

(Chairman Walter entered the hearing room.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order

Are you ready to proceed Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the 5 witnesses be sworn at the same time, and as the subject develops in which any one of these gentlemen is peculiarly equipped to answer, he will identify himself and give the answer, since each of these 5 gentlemen is here on the same general subject matter; namely, the literature, letters, publications, and various types of propaganda coming into the United States which seek to enlist people to return behind the Iron Curtain.

I respectfully suggest that you gentlemen all stand.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hands, please?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MINDEL. I do.

Mr. KNOLL. I do.

Mr. FISHMAN. I do.

Mr. BUTENEFF. I do.

Mr. HORVATH. I do.

TESTIMONY OF IRVING FISHMAN, SERGEI BUTENEFF, AND PAUL HORVATH, OF THE BUREAU OF CUSTOMS, TREASURY DEPARTMENT; LEO G. KNOLL, DEPUTY SOLICITOR, POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT; AND SAUL J. MINDEL, ATTORNEY, OFFICE OF THE SOLICITOR, POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

Mr. ARENS. May I respectfully suggest that each gentleman, beginning on my left, briefly identify himself by name and occupation?

Mr. MINDEL. Saul J. Mindel, attorney, Office of the Solicitor, Post Office Department.

Mr. KNOLL. Leo G. Knoll, Deputy Solicitor, Post Office Department of the United States.

Mr. FISHMAN. Irving Fishman, Deputy Collector of the United States Customs, Treasury Department.

Mr. BUTENEFF. Sergei Buteneff, legislative assistant to the merchandise section of the Bureau of Customs, Treasury Department.

Mr. HORVATH. Paul Horvath, clerk-translator, Bureau of Customs.

Mr. ARENS. We will have a series of questions beginning with Mr. Fishman, but I respectfully suggest as we come to an issue on which any of you gentlemen have information, because of your respective assignments in the several governmental agencies, that you, for the record, identify yourselves and proceed to make your observations or supply the information.

First of all, Mr. Fishman, will you kindly give us just a word respecting your official status in the United States Customs Bureau?

Mr. FISHMAN. I am Deputy Collector of Customs. My official assignment is at the port in New York. However, I am in charge of a special project dealing with the control of political propaganda for the entire country.

I should like, Mr. Chairman, if I may, to make a brief statement indicating our position or at least the basis for our having this information for you. I should also like you to have for examination some of the translations made from the material which we will discuss here today.

Mr. ARENS. The material which you have just handed me to transmit to the committee consists of translations of certain letters and it is not the magazine and public material which we are going to discuss later.

Mr. FISHMAN. Some of it consists of letters from individuals to individuals, and some of it consists of letters published in newspapers and magazines which are freely circulated here.

Mr. ARENS. Have you a statement that you wanted to read, introductorywise?

Mr. FISHMAN. By way of general observation I should like to advise the committee of the background of our operation.

Almost 5 years ago, as a result of an increasing awareness of the rapidly mounting volume of Communist propaganda reaching the United States from the Soviet bloc countries, the Treasury Department through its Bureau of Customs joined forces with the Post Office Department in order to combat the situation with such means as were available under the existing law and regulations.

Both agencies, after consultation with the Justice Department, took the position that unsolicited political propaganda materials sent from

the Soviet bloc countries into the United States by the mails and by means other than the mails and intended for dissemination in the United States may be in violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended.

This position was believed further strengthened by the Attorney General's opinion of December 10, 1940—cited as 39 Opinions Attorney General 535—wherein it was held that the sending of propaganda to the United States by an unregistered agent of a foreign principal in violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act amounts to a violation of a penal statute as provided for in section 957 of title 18, United States Code, and that under section 1717 of title 18, United States Code, the Postmaster General may bar such propaganda from the mails.

The Department of Justice further expressed the opinion that propaganda material arriving in the United States from abroad otherwise than through the mails may be seized as an importation contrary to law under section 545 of title 18, U. S. Code. The Justice Department indicated that its opinion was based on rule 50 promulgated pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

In substance, this rule provides that persons not within the United States who use interstate or foreign commerce within the United States to disseminate political propaganda shall be regarded as acting within the United States and therefore subject to the act.

Three control units were therefore established—

The CHAIRMAN. May I interrupt at that point? Does not the rule further provide that material so disseminated may be confiscated?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right. It is subject to seizure if arriving by means other than the mails and it may be declared nonmailable by the Post Office Department if it comes in the mail.

Three control units were therefore established. The first in New York City, the second in San Francisco, Calif., and the third in Chicago, Ill. These control units are manned by competent translator analysts who evaluate the material and furnish opinions to Customs and the Post Office Department as to its admissibility under the existing law. The Commissioner of Customs has assigned me to supervise this entire operation.

In dealing with the problem of the wide distribution of all forms of political propaganda into the United States, we became aware, about a year ago, of a new approach in this field, namely, the appeal to citizens whose origin was in the Soviet bloc countries to return to the homeland. This general program has most recently been referred to in a statement issued by the White House on May 24, 1956.

This program began under the guise of various committees, as, for example, a committee for the protection of persons who are returning home as a result of amnesty, or A Committee for the Return to the Homeland. This type of invitation first originated in Czechoslovakia and in East Germany and then spread so that it is now sent here in almost all languages.

It attempts to induce former nationals of the satellite countries, as well as displaced persons and immigrants from other Slavic nations, to return to their homeland. This program has been on the increase. Current weekly and monthly publications contain editorials,

articles, and letters from individuals in the Soviet Union and other bloc countries directed to people residing in the United States suggesting that they return to their native land.

In certain instances letters of grateful appreciation for help in repatriation are printed from former displaced persons. This type of letter generally describes in most glowing terms the living and working conditions in the Soviet bloc countries as contrasted with the alleged miserable existence in the capitalistic countries.

In other instances this type of propaganda is directed against the United States. We have noted references to the relaxation of bars against the admission of displaced persons into the United States as an underhanded move to prevent the repatriation program. The United States has been accused in this propaganda of using displaced persons as spies and saboteurs for activities against the Soviet Union.

In other articles repatriates are promised amnesty even if they had in the past committed crimes against their countries provided they will redeem themselves through honest service to their motherland.

Promises of good jobs, fine living quarters, food and wearing apparel as well as free transportation are made. Excellent educational facilities for children are also mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. How is the transportation provided?

Mr. FISHMAN. By subsidy in most cases, and by repayment after they arrive, and so on and so forth.

We have considered such material as political propaganda as that term is defined in section 1 (j) of the Foreign Agents Registration Act and that the sending thereof, unsolicited, into the United States for dissemination was in violation of that act.

To point up the growth of this program we might mention that our records show that we detained approximately 18,000 individually addressed items in April and early May of this year in New York City alone, and that we now have under examination about 10,000 articles received in late May and early June.

It is not the function of our agency to comment on the effect of this method of propaganda on the people to whom it is sent. I would, however, like to state that we have had many complaints from addressees who have received this material. Many such complaints have been sent to Members of the House and Senate. The tenor of these complaints are that the recipients do not wish to have this material and in some cases the addressees are frankly scared since their whereabouts in this country has become known. These people unfortunately do not know that this is part of a general program and that thousands of similar letters have been sent, the names often obtained from telephone directories and fraternal organization listings.

A good deal of the material herein referred to appears in the second- and third-class mails. However, a greater percentage thereof is believed to be in the first-class mail, but in view of necessary legal restrictions in the postal law and regulations governing the handling of first-class mail, a matter which can more adequately be explained by the Post Office representative here present, our control units are hampered and they are unable to withhold this material except under certain circumstances where an addressee has been asked to waive the privacy of the seal and to permit the examination of the envelope or parcel. We should like to assure the committee, however, that we are doing all that we can to cope with this problem.

Mr. ARENS. Are these letters individually addressed?

Mr. FISHMAN. It is a combination of both letters individually addressed and also magazines and newspapers, specifically directed to this homeland program.

Mr. ARENS. Is this from one port of entry in the United States? Over what period of time?

Mr. FISHMAN. All of April and early May.

Mr. ARENS. How many ports of entry are there through which this material or these letters are channeling?

Mr. FISHMAN. There are 45 ports of entry. We try to control or direct with the cooperation of the Post Office people, to direct this material through the 3 control units, 1 as I mentioned in San Francisco and 1 in Chicago. But we do not have all of the statistics. We do have in the course of examination right at this moment, approximately 10,000 pieces which came in in the latter part of May, and early June.

Mr. ARENS. We will go into the exhibits shortly. From the standpoint of developing volume, tell us what is the volume of foreign political propaganda hitting the United States, all varieties from behind the Iron Curtain, Communist political propaganda.

Mr. FISHMAN. In 1955, through the port of New York we had for examination, 1,917,000 packages of mail suspected of containing political propaganda. At the port of San Francisco we examined approximately 406,000, and in Chicago, about 238,000.

That is a combination, all told, of about 2.5 million parcels containing printed materials suspected of containing political propaganda.

The CHAIRMAN. Over what period?

Mr. FISHMAN. Over the period of 1955.

Mr. ARENS. How many individual publications would be contained in a parcel?

Mr. FISHMAN. We estimated that in New York, for example, in this 1,900,000 packages there were 3,365,000 individual publications.

Mr. ARENS. Is that for only one port of entry?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. What is your estimate as to the individual parcels of Communist political propaganda which came into the United States last year?

Mr. FISHMAN. We would say about 2,300,000 packages, and possibly, judging by our figures here, somewhere around 5 million pieces of printed matter.

Mr. ARENS. What percentage of that was in the foreign language?

Mr. FISHMAN. We judge about 50 percent of that was, I suppose.

Mr. ARENS. To whom was it destined?

Mr. FISHMAN. A good portion of this is addressed to registered agents, or agents registered with the Department of Justice, who may legally import this information for dissemination. Much of it, however, is addressed unsolicited as is most of this homeland material to people whose names were picked out of telephone directories, and organization directories, and so on.

Mr. ARENS. What percentage of this material you have just been describing goes through the consuls and embassies, Iron Curtain consuls and embassies?

Mr. FISHMAN. We do not keep any figures on that, but they continually receive a good deal of commercial shipments of printed material.

Mr. ARENS. Under the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act, Mr. Fishman, as I understood you to say, the agent in the United States of a foreign principal, who disseminates political propaganda, must not only register with the Department of Justice but he must likewise cause to be imposed on the propaganda, a stamp indicating that it is Communist political propaganda.

Mr. FISHMAN. That is my understanding.

Mr. ARENS. Have you in the course of your experience, in the Customs Bureau, ever seen a single piece of political propaganda so labeled?

Mr. FISHMAN. I never have.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been in the Bureau of Customs?

Mr. FISHMAN. I have been in the Customs for 29 years, but I have been handling this work for 5 years and I have never seen an item stamped. I have heard of rare instances where such articles were stamped when they were sent to other people.

Mr. ARENS. Is it safe to assume from what you have said that there is a wholesale distribution in the United States of Communist political propaganda originating abroad which is not labeled as such in accordance with the specifications of the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is my personal opinion.

Mr. ARENS. If you please, Mr. Fishman, may we begin with the specifications on this item about which you gentlemen are invited today to testify; namely, the campaign to induce American citizens to procure American passports for the purpose of returning to the Soviet dominated bloc of countries.

Mr. FISHMAN. We can refer only to translations of this material. I have the original material, plus the translations. Sprinkled throughout all of these translations are references to the desirability of returning home.

I can turn to almost any page here and read some of this material. Here is a letter signed by Major General Makarlov which appeared in the Return to the Homeland, issue No. 16, May 1956, which consists of the official statement of the Committee for the Return to the Homeland.

Mr. WILLIS. What is the name of the committee?

Mr. FISHMAN. The Committee for the Return to the Homeland, that is the title of the committee. This newspaper is published by this committee. It is just a brief reference to it. It says,

From communications of various official authorities and from the press, the following information is available for those interested:

Soviet citizens living abroad and wishing to return to the homeland should apply to the U. S. S. R. embassy, consulate or mission in the country in which they reside. Those persons living in East Germany may apply to the Return to the Homeland Committee in Biering Strasse 65, Berlin. Persons presently residing in countries where diplomatic relations with the U. S. S. R. do not exist should apply to the U. S. S. R. Embassy located in the country nearest to them.

They will receive the necessary documents, free transportation, tickets, where necessary, and material assistance will be provided such as 10 rubles a day per person for food and other traveling expenses. Every repatriated person will receive a right-to-travel certificate which must be exchanged for a passport at the local police headquarters at final destinations.

Members of a family who are subjects of a foreign government will be provided with permits to reside as aliens, with rights to apply for U. S. S. R. citizenship.

Children of returnees are immediately sent to school according to the law of compulsory education. According to the directives of the amnesty law, it is the duty of the Soviet working peoples deputies to place returned citizens on a job

and provide them with a place to live. Returned citizens are entitled to all rights and privileges granted by the constitution of the U. S. S. R.

Mr. ARENS. From what countries have these letters and this material been coming?

Mr. FISHMAN. From most of the Soviet bloc countries. This one particularly was sent from East Germany.

Mr. ARENS. Are we getting material from Red China?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes; we have. We have gotten material from Red China dealing specifically with the students who were here and who have returned home and who are now writing to the remaining students, giving them a long statement about the advantages of coming back, and giving them some pretty clear instructions on how to come back, and what he should know, what he should bring back from the United States and how to get by customs and so on.

Mr. ARENS. In what volume are the letters coming from Red China?

Mr. FISHMAN. These come through our San Francisco office, and we do not have all of the statistics, but we have seen a considerable amount. I have the original Chinese text, and the translation.

Mr. ARENS. Can you give us a summary of what is in the translation?

Mr. FISHMAN. For example, here is a paragraph:

"There is no freedom of thinking under the Communist Party," is the propagandizing platform of the United States Government to the people, and it is also one of the most important concerns of the Chinese students. As a matter of fact, the present condition shows that the people everywhere in China have plenty of freedom. The churches in every large city are still there, and there is no difference between the life of the religious people and that of the others. Excluding those of the wicked landowners and the bureaucratic capitalists, the private wealth and property received absolutely no damage. No one will inquire how much money you have in the bank. Everything is controlled by oneself, if one does not lend money out for large profit or permit anything which will destroy the social order. There is nothing that has no freedom. Only those who oppress the public will have no freedom whatsoever.

Mr. ARENS. Who are the senders of these letters from Red China?

Mr. FISHMAN. We have a list of some 40-odd students who have just gotten back.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Buteneff, I understand you are a translator in the Customs Bureau, is that correct?

Mr. BUTENEFF. That is one of my duties but actually, I am supervising the translation work.

Mr. ARENS. Have you, in the many years of your service been very close to some of the refugee organizations such as the Tolstoy Foundation?

Mr. BUTENEFF. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. On the basis of your background and experience, not only as a translator, but on the basis of the background of your experience with the Tolstoy Foundation, would you care to give this committee an appraisal of the reason for this campaign which Mr. Fishman has been describing?

Mr. BUTENEFF. That I could do only as my own personal opinion and not necessarily would present the views of the Treasury Department. I would say that the effect of this propaganda could be divided in two. The first part would be the effect in asking the people to return to their homeland. It would not have much effect on those people who came here definitely with the decision to remain here and to live in a free country.

I do not think that anybody could be swayed and be told to believe or to really think that the American people are lying about the conditions which are right now in the Iron Curtain countries.

Now, therefore, the effect will be absolutely nil as far as asking the people to return.

Now, the other effect is strictly the psychological one. Psychologically, it is extremely important because those people who came here with the idea of getting freedom and who want to be away from that feeling of oppression, when they suddenly receive unexpectedly, a publication addressed to them personally, to them it is a tremendous blow.

Here they think when they arrived in the United States they at least are separated by the ocean from their homeland. They know they are not going to be persecuted here. When they receive this letter, some of them have even changed their names upon arrival to the United States, and as I hear, they still receive these publications under their new names.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any idea as to how the sender of the letters procures the name, or the changed name of the recipient in the United States?

Mr. BUTENEFF. No, sir; that I really do not know.

Mr. ARENS. What languages are you conversant with?

Mr. BUTENEFF. I am very fluent in Russian and Polish and French, and of course, I do understand and get along with Ukrainian, and Bella-Russian or any other Slavic language.

Mr. ARENS. May I respectfully suggest that you tell the committee the essence of the type of material which is being received in this country from the countries, the language of which you are translator?

Mr. BUTENEFF. Here, for instance, is one also from the publication of the Committee for the Return to the Homeland, with Bella-Russian text. It starts with an appeal, "Your relatives are looking for you."

This is actually a personal letter addressed by some relative still beyond the Iron Curtain, and addressed to the relatives in the Western World and they are trying to find them and address them personally.

Those who abandoned their families and homeland, think of your gray-haired mothers who wait for you, about your wives who consider themselves widows, about your children who grow up without fathers. Come back in order to make them happy and to dry their tears.

This is, of course, a part of the translation which was made of this. One has to consider the effect of such a phrase, because those people who come here often are really very homesick. That does not mean they would like to return there but they are constantly remembering their homes. When suddenly they receive something like that, and sometimes even a personal appeal from their families to return, that really absolutely tears them apart.

Mr. ARENS. Gentlemen, may I invite your attention on the general publications in this area. I see that you have brought with you a number of copies of magazines which I assume bear on this issue. Mr. Fishman, will you kindly comment on that?

Mr. FISHMAN. Here is a magazine which is circulated considerably by the registered agents as a Polish trade union review, and a complete page entitled, "The Road Back Lies Open." It talks generally about the business of trying to get home, and how to get home, and the method of getting home.

Mr. ARENS. Is it in the Polish language?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is in English.

Mr. ARENS. Does this circulate from the United States?

Mr. FISHMAN. In Polish generally, and a number of these publications are printed in a number of other languages.

Mr. ARENS. What other languages do you have represented in these magazines on display here?

Mr. FISHMAN. Here is a very popular homeland type of publication, and it is printed in the Hungarian language.

Mr. ARENS. Does it have an appeal to the recipient to return to Hungary?

Mr. FISHMAN. We have made references in the translations to this type of article. I did not bring too many of these foreign language articles. I felt that the committee would be more interested in reading some of those which have been reprinted in English. All of this material, including a lot of posters and beautifully inscribed cards, are sent here for distribution. This is an advertisement of an International seminar, which is similar to the International peace groups. I heard those mentioned here this morning.

This Prague Newsletter which is sent to many people in the United States has a complete article entitled, "Free Europe Reporter Returns Home." It talks about the United States intelligence and a lot of other problems which a returnee may face.

Mr. ARENS. You will recall in our conversation prior to your appearance, I asked you if you would kindly bring with you one or two specimen mail sacks of material arriving at ports of entry, which could for the first time be opened here to see what proportion of the mail entering the United States from overseas has with it this type of material, either letterwise, or in propaganda magazine fashion.

Have you done so?

Mr. FISHMAN. We have brought two bags of this material which have been submitted to us for examination.

Mr. ARENS. Would you bring it down to this large table, Mr. Fishman, and open it so the committee can get an idea of how this volume is coming into the United States?

Mr. FISHMAN. These are representative of the type of publications which we just talked about. We have kept the addressees' names inverted since as you know, we consider that information as confidential. But we can open any of these and tell you what is inside of them.

Mr. ARENS. Is this material subject to confiscation?

Mr. FISHMAN. For the most part, yes. This is.

Mr. ARENS. If it is solicited, it is not subject to confiscation?

Mr. FISHMAN. Our feeling is that the Foreign Agents Registration Act is a disclosure type of statute, and if the addressee has requested it and is fully aware of the source and can evaluate it properly, we see no objection to his having it.

Mr. ARENS. If this material is destined to a registered agent in the United States of an Iron Curtain country, is it subject to confiscation?

Mr. FISHMAN. No, it goes through freely to him.

Mr. ARENS. And he in turn can disseminate it to addressees in this country, is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct. Of course, he is required to keep the Department of Justice posted as to his entire operations.

Mr. ARENS. Would you give a word description for our record of the material that has just been placed on this table?

Mr. FISHMAN. These are bundles of individually addressed articles, some of which have been sent from East Germany. Most of this is East Berlin material and, of course, this is material which we were working on, depending upon the shipment we were handling. There is some from Prague, and we have seen some from almost every country. This is from Hungary, for example. Most of the material right before me is from East Germany.

Mr. ARENS. Could you make our record as clear as possible respecting the actual volume of individual pieces arriving in any one period of time?

Mr. FISHMAN. We estimated that some of these mail sacks we have been handling contained somewhere around between 1,200 and 1,500 individually addressed pieces.

Mr. ARENS. How many mail sacks arrive per month or for a given period of time?

Mr. FISHMAN. It is rather difficult to estimate that. We may have as many as two or three hundred a day submitted to us.

Mr. ARENS. From New York alone?

Mr. FISHMAN. From the Soviet bloc countries.

Mr. ARENS. And you have about some 40-odd ports of entry?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. And you have a comparable situation out on the coast, at San Francisco?

Mr. FISHMAN. The concentration on the coast, of course, is in the Chinese language, and we get considerable quantities there. Then, of course, we have quite a collection of this material in our Chicago office and the Chicago office handles the midwestern part of the United States.

Mr. ARENS. How about the material arriving at the shores of the United States which is not subjected to confiscation, on a basis of the mode of its arrival?

Mr. FISHMAN. We do not, as you know, invade the privacy of the first-class seal. We have no way of knowing what comes through the letter mail except in such instances as we have had occasion to ask the addressee to waive the privacy of the seal, so that we can determine this. We have, under joint regulations, the right wherever we suspect that a sealed article contains dutiable merchandise or prohibited merchandise, to ask the addressee to give us permission to look inside the envelope.

In such cases, we have found political propaganda spread throughout this first-class mail.

Mr. ARENS. Are you permitted to examine or to confiscate material brought in by the diplomatic route?

Mr. FISHMAN. We do not examine any material that comes in the diplomatic pouch.

Mr. ARENS. Are you permitted to examine material which is brought in, in diplomatic status, but not in a diplomatic pouch or destined to an embassy or consulate?

Mr. FISHMAN. With rare exceptions, we do not examine that material.

Mr. ARENS. May we return here to our table for more testimony with respect to this subject matter?

Will the gentlemen from the Post Office, Mr. Knoll and Mr. Mindel, kindly address yourselves to this general subject matter in your own way and in your own words?

Mr. KNOLL. Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, on behalf of the Post Office Department, I would like to have permission to make a statement—

The CHAIRMAN. Surely.

Mr. KNOLL. To give our position relative to this foreign political propaganda.

The Solicitor for the Post Office Department is the legal adviser to the Postmaster General and the entire postal service. One of the functions of the Solicitor's Office is to make rulings to postmasters as to the mailability of various matters found in the mails, and to issue instructions for their disposition.

This authority has been delegated to the Solicitor by the Postmaster General. Publications that come in from abroad are examined by the collector of customs at the port of entry, after which they are turned over to the postmaster for the necessary treatment. In the event the Bureau of Customs determines that a publication constitutes foreign political propaganda, the postmaster is so informed when the collector delivers the publication to the postal service.

The postmaster will then report the matter to the Office of the Solicitor, and receive instructions as to the disposition to be made of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Why should there be any distinction between the classes of mail? Do you think the law should be amended so as to make it possible to inspect first-class mail where there is reasonable grounds to believe, or, "Where a reasonably prudent person" is the legal language, would believe the law is being violated?

Mr. KNOLL. Mr. Walter, of course, we have always, that is the Post Office Department has had the determination to recognize the sanctity of the first-class mail. In order to go beyond that, it would be a question of having sufficient information relative to the information contained in the sealed envelope.

The CHAIRMAN. Take this hypothetical case. Suppose there were 50 letters all coming from one place to various refugees in the United States. Do you not think that that would justify your invading the so-called sanctity of the first-class mail?

Mr. KNOLL. During our conferences recently relative to that, Mr. Chairman, we have had occasions when packages of first-class mail came into this country, first through the customs and then was to be delivered to our office, amounting, in one instance, to 600 letters, with the same type of envelopes sealed, and the same or similar handwriting, and the same return address, and with the same postmark.

From other information which we accumulated by reason of the fact that many of the addressees have communicated with our Department, those addressees who received first-class mail containing foreign politi-

cal propaganda, they objected to the reception of this particular information and sent the information to our office with a letter stating that they do not want to receive it.

We noticed a good many of these letters received in our Department from the addressees contain envelopes and writing of a similar nature to those contained in the package, say, of this particular delivery of 600 envelopes.

In that instance, we had a very strong suspicion that these 600 envelopes contained foreign political propaganda.

The CHAIRMAN. Why would it not be possible to amend the law so that in a case of that sort you could present your suspicions to a court and obtain from a court the equivalent to a search warrant and make out to the court a case, a *prima facie* case, in support of your application to open such first-class mail?

Mr. MINDEL. That may be done, Mr. Chairman, as to any mail just as to search a private home. One may go in and obtain a warrant from the court to make that search. However, as to this foreign mail, we do have a way of proceeding as Mr. Fishman referred to, in that notification may be sent to the addressees to authorize opening, and in these particular cases, in each instance where that was done, there was no hesitation upon the part of the addressee to give that authorization.

Thereafter, when the mail was opened, it proved to be what it was suspected to be. As I believe Mr. Knoll has indicated, upon that sampling, and the other marks of identification as to the overall mailing, we applied the ruling to the group.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any idea what percentage of mail is first class?

Mr. MINDEL. We do not have that, sir; and I do not know whether or not Mr. Fishman's office has that.

The CHAIRMAN. This is a very startling number that you gave a while ago, 2.5 million pieces that you inspected and it would certainly indicate to me that it is just a small percentage of such propaganda that is coming in.

Mr. ARENS. What is your estimate as to the percentage of this material soliciting people to return behind the Iron Curtain which comes in first-class mail? Have you any way of making an estimate?

Mr. KNOLL. That would be very difficult to answer.

Mr. ARENS. The only estimate that you can make is of the material that comes in bulk, through customs; is that not correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. The figures that we have given you are third-class mail.

The CHAIRMAN. Then it is safe to assume, if there are 2.5 million pieces of third-class mail, that over 1 million pieces are first-class.

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I think there is a rollcall in the House and we will recess until 2:15 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:20 p. m., a recess was taken until 2:15 p. m., of this same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION—WEDNESDAY, JUNE 13, 1956

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.
Proceed, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Before the recess, Mr. Knoll, you were in the process of making certain observations from the viewpoint of the Post Office Department. Would you kindly proceed?

And may I suggest to the other gentlemen present as Mr. Knoll touches upon a matter which is germane to your peculiar sense of interest in this problem, if you would identify yourselves and make your observations for the record.

Mr. KNOLL. Of particular interest at this time is the propaganda being disseminated from abroad—principally from East Germany—to residents of the United States in an effort to get them to return to their homelands behind the Iron Curtain.

The most commonly used title for such propaganda is "For Return to the Homeland." From the series of articles currently appearing in the newspapers it is noted that many privately addressed personal letters have been received here as a part of this Return to Homeland campaign. The Post Office Department has received no correspondence to any great extent from addressees in the United States of this type of propaganda or mail, and has no information as to the scope of such mailings.

We are not in a position to cover the entire effect or the scope which first-class mail would have in this respect.

Mr. ARENS. Is that because you cannot examine first-class mail or open first-class mail?

Mr. KNOLL. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. May I interpose this question that I meant to ask you a little earlier: If you have reason to believe that first-class mail contains scurrilous, licentious, lewd material, are you permitted under the law to seize it or to open the mail to find out.

Mr. MINDEL. Speaking of foreign mail, under the Universal Postal Convention, and also under the customs laws, as to the treatment of matters suspected of being of a prohibited nature, we could proceed in the same general way as we would and have done with respect to suspected propaganda mailings.

That is, give notice to addressees and if upon the opening it is shown to be of a suspected character, then there are steps taken for confiscation.

Mr. ARENS. May I ask whether or not the propaganda material which we have been discussing here would fall in the same general category as this licentious material which would be subjected to seizure?

Mr. MINDEL. No. The licentious would be under the obscene and immoral part of the statute or the statute dealing with obscene and immoral material.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have comparable laws which would be applicable to Communist literature going through the mails?

Mr. MINDEL. Not as such. In other words, there is the law that specifies and specifically deals with obscene and immoral material. Perhaps I am not getting your point.

Mr. ARENS. Let me make an observation and see if it is correct. Do I interpret your testimony correctly: At the present time you have legislation which enables you to seize even first-class mail if you find that that mail contains licentious material, but that you do not have comparable statutes which permit you to seize Communist literature going through the mails?

Mr. MINDEL. No, I have misled you, if that is the answer that I gave. We could proceed in the same way against both types. That is, foreign mails.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly proceed if you please, Mr. Knoll.

Mr. KNOLL. We have received reports from postmasters as to fairly large shipments of printed Return to Homeland publications. These postmasters, of course, are at the port of entry.

Since October of 1955, the reports have covered 7,514 copies of these papers addressed to persons throughout the country which had been turned over to the postmasters by the Bureau of Customs as foreign political propaganda.

Appropriate instructions were issued to the postmasters for the disposition of these mailings, and the Post Office Department was thus able to hamper the Homeland campaign at least to the extent of these 7,500 or more publications. These postmasters' reports contained the type of publications, the names, and the list of addressees.

Of course, in some instances it referred to large blocks of publications, which means that it follows from what Mr. Fishman stated, that these reports were sent into the Post Office Department to enable us to proceed as far as the destruction of this material is concerned.

In an apparent effort to circumvent this treatment of its mailings, the organization sending over the propaganda has resorted to the use of mail prepared to resemble ordinary correspondence, hoping thereby to escape detection by the Customs and Postal authorities of the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Would not they also have a strong incentive, in view of the known practice of the Post Office Department not to open first-class mail, to send this material first class?

Mr. KNOLL. That is our observation.

Mr. ARENS. Could you give us any estimate as to the volume of first-class mail in this category?

Mr. KNOLL. As I stated before, it is very difficult for us to even give an estimate.

Mr. ARENS. It would be an unknown quantity, would it not?

Mr. KNOLL. Yes. Some of this mail did pass through and was delivered to addressees, some of whom thereupon made complaint to the Department. When doing so, they were vigorous in their denunciation of this Communist propaganda.

The Post Office Department I would like to state emphatically, is determined at all times to maintain the sanctity of sealed first-class mail, and it may not open mail sent in this fashion. However, there is authority for the Customs Service to call upon addressees of sealed foreign mail to authorize opening when there is reason to suspect it of containing matter prohibited for importation.

As a result of such notifications which have been sent by the postmaster as part of the joint treatment with Customs of suspected importations, the addressees have agreed to the opening of a number of these first-class mailings. It was found that they contained the same type of Homeland publications as had been sent in large number in the open mail.

These publications are printed in various languages, namely, Russian, Polish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Hungarian, Estonian, Latvian, and Byelorussian. As already noted, most of them are entitled "For Return to the Homeland": others bear the titles of "Your Relatives

Are Looking For You," "Your Country's Calling You," and "The Voice of Homeland."

For your immediate appraisal and consideration we have taken some excerpts from a number of these publications and we have submitted translations to the committee. We picked out five of those that we thought contained significant material regarding "Homeland" propaganda. They are actually quotations from the publications.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us make them a part of the record at this point, marked "Homeland Propaganda Exhibits Nos. 1 through 5."

(The 5 documents referred to are as follows:)

HOMELAND PROPAGANDA EXHIBIT NO. 1

SOLICITOR'S OFFICE

[Translation—Homeland foreign political propaganda]

Za Vyartanne na Radzimu. No. 9. Berlin, September 1955. A weekly periodical for Foreign Consumption. Mailed in Berlin (For the Return to Homeland) in Byelorussian

(P. 1)

I AM AT HOME

For those who have returned to their Homeland their present is full of happiness. A majority of those who lived abroad had suffered hunger and all kinds of miseries and privations. Some of the displaced persons have turned into homeless vagabonds. Very few were provided with work. Nostalgia, however, tormented all the refugees without exception. They all longed to return home to their own country, their own people. All the letters addressed to the committee express gratitude and joy at the possibility to return home. Letters from those who have already returned are full of happiness. We are equal citizens to those who never left their homeland, they say, we have employment and a happier and brighter future is open to our children.

Following are the letters of Soviet citizens who have returned to their Homeland:

I am guilty, said Sokolov. First thing, I surrendered to the enemy and was a prisoner of war. Then I managed to escape, but when I was caught, the Germans recruited me for work for the Gestapo. I never betrayed anybody but I deserve punishment for having agreed to work for them.

It was just on the eve of their departure that the Sokolovs discovered that it was not to hard labor, but to their native town that they were being repatriated. "Everybody called us 'comrades' ", said Sokolov, my fear has disappeared entirely.

Now we are happy. We live in Minsk. It is a beautiful town. It had been reconstructed and improved so that one could not recognize it. New wide streets are lined with trees.

I was very happy to learn that my father is alive and works in the same place where he was employed before the war. One of my sisters is married and the other attends the Technological Institute. My family was very happy to see me again. I am working now and have a job which corresponds to my education and specialty and the Town Council of Minsk provided us with an apartment in a new house.

I advise my compatriots who are still living in foreign countries to come home. The Homeland will receive them with open arms.

Caption: P. Kokhau with his family has returned from France. I am living very well, writes P. Kokhau. I have a job and my wife stays at home and does housework. My eldest daughter Lyuba is attending a school of bookkeeping while the youngest girl attends classes at a high school. Younger children are also attending schools.

The Homeland received us like its real children.

I have returned to my beloved Homeland. On the third day after my arrival, the Government gave us a beautiful apartment in a new three-story house. My husband works at a factory and our son has received a permit to stay in a pioneer camp. His stay there is free of charge. Our address is: Sumy 7, Sharkaunskaya street No. 23. Apartment 11.

Life is very pleasant here, everybody works, people live in lovely comfortable apartments and all the children go to school. It is so wonderful that it is almost difficult for me to believe that I am so lucky.

HOMELAND PROPAGANDA EXHIBIT NO. 2

SOLICITOR'S OFFICE

[Translation—Homeland Foreign Political Propaganda]

Za Vozvrashcheniye na Rodinu. No. 12. Berlin, October 1955. A periodical for *Foreign Consumption.* Mailed in Berlin (For the Return in Homeland) in Russian

(P. 1)

BY WORKING HONESTLY WE SHALL JUSTIFY THE TRUST OF OUR HOMELAND

The Decree of the Presidium of Supreme Council of USSR which was published recently granted Amnesty to all the Soviet citizens who collaborated with the occupiers during the Great Patriotic War during the period of 1941-1945. This act of the greatest humaneness found a response of warm gratitude from the greatest majority of our compatriots living abroad. "By honest work we shall justify the trust of our Homeland" say those who return home from foreign countries. "Soon we shall be home", write to us former prisoners of war from Belgium. The decree announcing the Amnesty relieves of responsibility all those who surrendered to the enemy. Now we shall hesitate no longer. Nothing will hold us in a foreign country. Let our beloved Soviet Government realize that no traitors, but patriots ready to sacrifice all their forces to the Communist Construction, are about to return to their Homeland.

The day before yesterday, writes to us P. L. from West Germany, I read in the newspaper "Izvestiya" (News) the Decree regarding the Amnesty. It was a surprise to me. While following closely all the events taking place in our Homeland I felt intuitively that this great humane act was going to be materialized. It is not, however, the news about the Amnesty that made me write this letter. It was only an additional urge. I have only one desire now: to return to the Homeland as soon as possible, to join the ranks of honest constructors.

Numbers of enthusiastic, sincere letters have been received recently from Ulm, Augsburg, Munich, Hamburg, and other towns of West Germany and Belgium. Following is one of these letters:

Glorify our Homeland, our freedom! Yes, glory! We have no words to express the joy given to us by the radio broadcast we heard today. "For the Return to Homeland" announced the Amnesty! We belong to a group of displaced persons. We want to express our warm gratitude to the Presidium of the Supreme Council of USSR for granting us this Amnesty, for being solicitous for us. We are unhappy men who now realize their guilt before our Homeland.

My wife and myself, writes G. Ya., have been thinking about returning home. I could not make up my mind because I knew that I was guilty before my Homeland. In other words I had served in the German Army. Now, that the Decree of Amnesty had been granted to all the Soviet citizens who collaborated with the occupiers, my situation has changed.

There are people who write about the intrigues of dark forces. They are using terror in order to stop the stream of people returning to their Homeland. The fellows from the Bander's group have lost their heads, says M. P. who lives in Ulm. The Decree of the Amnesty has disoriented them entirely. They have recourse to one weapon only: terror. They, however, are sure to fail. All these former Hitler's officers, who today serve a foreign counter-intelligence, all these wise guys, cannot stop the people who are anxious to get home. It is in vain that these agents visit people in their apartments, waylay them in the streets. We are not afraid of them. We will be able to give an answer to their threats so that they will lose all wish to create obstacles on our way. We received many letters of this type. Men write to us that they realize that their Homeland needs them. A group of our compatriots from Mannheim unmasked the spy called Fedor Sosov. Circus attempts to make our compatriots stay abroad had been made in Nuremberg by Tkachev and Melnikov. These miserable attempts are sure to fail. All the small time crooks like Bander, Pozdyakov, and Klimov have lost all credit with the emigrants. All kinds of emigrant leaders do all they can to retain our compatriots in foreign countries. They are ready

to bribe them with little presents like a pair of pants or sums of money owed for the rent of an apartment. The so-called "Tolstoy Fund" is one of the organizations financed by a Foreign Counter Intelligence.

The "American Committee" has developed a mad activity as soon as the Amnesty was published. All the Soviet citizens, however, rejected the cobweb of lies spun round the refugees. These attempts are doomed to failure.

All the letters addressed to our Committee prove that the Soviet citizens living abroad want to return to their Homeland. They want to live by honest work. The Decree granting the Amnesty offers them a possibility to do so.

(P. 3)

THE JOY OF THE RETURN

Much misery was the lot of our compatriots who found themselves in foreign countries. The worst of all was the feeling that they were separated from their Homeland and their People. The spiritual starvation was worse than the physical hunger. How can Soviet men, brought up in respect for honest work and human dignity, reconcile themselves with the stifling atmosphere of profits, selfishness, and national hostility? It is in vain that some of our compatriots tried to adjust themselves to the ways of the capitalistic world. It was in a humiliating struggle for existence that they made a deal with their own conscience. They were unhappy all the time and realized that they were gradually sinking to the bottom, becoming dregs of society.

The President of the Council of Ministers of USSR, Comrade N. A. Bulganin announced that it was his duty to defend the Soviet citizens who, although they took a wrong attitude toward their Homeland at a certain time, expressed their wish to return home and correct their ways. A large number of our compatriots are being held in foreign countries by force or do not dare to return home because they are being intimidated by a hostile propaganda. A large majority of our citizens held abroad by force have no permanent work, they have no lodgings, or means of existence. They suffer misery and terrible privations. They are men deprived of any rights, they depend on charity.

The Announcement of our Committee called "For the Return to the Homeland" made many refugees decide to go home, the speech made by Comrade N. A. Bulganin and the Decree granting the Amnesty made people return to their Homeland in large groups. These streams of refugees returning home is growing daily. Our repatriated citizens express their feelings quite freely:

"I will not try to give account of what I suffered during the twelve years I lived in foreign countries. All the displaced persons know that they lead a miserable existence. I always tried to do some work (when I could find work), but I did not feel that I was a human being. I was a displaced person, a superfluous man whom nobody wanted. While there was no possibility to return home, my nostalgia was deafened. When the road home was finally opened to me, I could not rest. I could not wait for the day when I could go home. I wanted the night spent in foreign countries to come as soon as possible. I was ready to walk home."

TILL I SEE YOU SOON AGAIN

If you asked me what day was the happiest day in my life, the most memorable one, I would not hesitate to tell you that it was the day of my return to the Homeland after much wandering in foreign lands.

My second happiest day was that when I stepped over the threshold of my home in the Town of Bataysk, when I joined my mother, friends, and relatives after a long separation.

The reception which was offered to me and my repatriated compatriots in Leningrad was warm and friendly. Our group included people returning from many remote corners of this world.

Now that I am firmly established in my Homeland, I am proud of the trust shown to me.

I was hungry in the American zone of West Germany. I was unemployed and exposed to numerous humiliations and insults. Many times I could not get employment because being a Russian I was suspected of being a "red".

I believed no libelous statements regarding my country. No matter how much they tried to prevent my return, I decided to go back to my Homeland.

(P. 4)

THE HOMELAND HAS FORGIVEN ME

As you see the Soviet Government has forgiven me my work with the Germans. I am permitted to work side by side with other citizens and I enjoy all the rights of a Soviet citizen.

HOMELAND PROPAGANDA EXHIBIT NO. 3

SOLICITOR'S OFFICE

[Translation—Homeland Foreign Political Propaganda]

Biuletyn Rozglosny "Kraj". No. 9. Warsaw, 11 March 1956. A weekly periodical for Foreign Consumption. Mailed in Warsaw. (The Resounding Bulletin "Homeland") in Polish

(P. 1)

AMONG MY OWN PEOPLE

After years of concentration camps in Hitler's Germany I finally find myself among my own people. I am here with my son, grandchildren, sisters, relatives, and friends. I will never forget the way my grandson met me with flowers and kisses. Only those mothers whose children are thousands of miles away will be able to understand my feelings. Much happiness was caused by meeting with old friends with whom I had no contact for many years.

Everybody wished me happiness and joy, everybody expressed his readiness to help me. I suddenly realized the difference between Poles in immigration and Poles at home. Emigrants always quarrel. They disagree on politics, every problem seems to be very sharp and difficult to solve. Daily needs, relations between people, everything is difficult and complicated in emigration. In Poland it is different. It is a new system of living and I first became aware of it in Warsaw.

Construction work is going on throughout the country. The cultural life of Poland is in full swing. Best plays and comedies are being staged in Polish theaters.

We are masters of our own destinies. Here we do not depend on the whim of a landlady or landlord to whom the rent must be paid promptly. Everything is here accessible to the people. Prices for daily necessities are coordinated with people's wages.

Poles living abroad do not teach their children to be patriots of their country. Children of Polish emigrants cannot speak their native tongue. Polish mothers, you are worried and disturbed about the future of your children! You must fight for bringing your children up as Poles, in love for their Homeland. It is your tragedy that your children will have no nationality. It is only in Poland, among the Polish people that you can fulfill your duty of Polish mothers.

(P. 11)

FAITHFUL—TO WHOM?

The voice of the emigration press is very characteristic. It is worth while to listen to it. What do I need a Catholic newspaper for, says an emigrant. My children do not want to read Polish.

Children would not read a church newspaper. The newspaper "Faithful Poland" is an empty sound because people within the country will always ask the question: faithful, to whom?

People's Poland regards the Poles, who were forced out of their Homeland by misery which used to prevail in old times, as friends and followers of the Polish culture, as well wishers who are happy about the development of the Polish industry.

(P. 13)

The war is over, the shooting as well as the cold one. It is time to return home. The return of every emigrant is an important contribution to the cause of peace throughout the world.

HOMELAND PROPAGANDA EXHIBIT NO. 4

SOLICITOR'S OFFICE

[Translation—Homeland foreign political propaganda]

Za Vozvrashcheniye na Rodiny, No. 3. Berlin, January 1956. A weekly periodical for foreign consumption. Mailed in Berlin (for the return to homeland) in Russian

(P. 1)

THE PROBLEM OF DISPLACED PERSONS

The problem connected with "Displaced Persons" has been discussed for the last nine years by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations Organization. It was debated at the 10th General Session last fall but as usual no practical solution has been reached. What is the essence of this problem and why its solution could not be reached during all this long period of time?

Large numbers of people had been driven to Germany from the Soviet Union and East European countries during the Second World War. Most of these persons had been placed in various concentration camps and many of them were employed in forced labor. A majority of these persons had been repatriated. Today they are enjoying their full citizens' rights. There are those, however, who remained abroad and had been classified as "displaced persons." Groups of them had been taken to Australia, Latin America, and the United States where they are being used for hard work which is very poorly paid. There are some displaced persons scattered throughout countries of Western Europe.

According to information obtained by the Supreme Commissar of the United Nations Organization for the Refugee Problem, there are about 350,000 "not fully assimilated" displaced persons of which 88,000 live in camps.

Displaced persons live in very unfavorable conditions, especially those who are still in camps. They had been placed into barracks which are terribly crowded. Many of them have lost capacity to work and require urgent medical assistance.

The displaced persons enjoy no rights of any kind. They are subjected to pressure and blackmail developed for the purpose of preventing them from returning to their Homeland. The Soviet Union and other countries of People's Democracy strive to enable the displaced persons to return home but they are always frustrated by western countries which do all they can to obstruct this plan. The displaced persons are being deliberately deprived of their rights to return to their Homeland and they are being turned into instruments of a dirty political game. Those who try to oppose these attempts and insist on their right to return home are subjected to persecution and torture. Taking advantage of the miserable position of displaced persons, some people turned them into a source of cheap labor. They also try to recruit them as spies and diversionists and send them for this type of activity into the Soviet Union and other countries of People's Democracy.

Professor V. P. Vasilakiy, who decided to return home to the Soviet Union from West Germany told us that various organization acting for alleged "assistance" to the displaced persons, are in actuality branches of imperialistic counter-intelligence organizations and that their activities are directed toward turning displaced persons into political spies for the work against the Soviet Union and other countries of People's Democracy.

The deliberate procrastination of the solution of the "displaced persons" problem does not contribute toward a better understanding among nations. The very title "displaced persons" should point at the correct solution. The only right way to solve this problem is to repatriate all the "displaced persons" on the basis of their own free choice. Their homeland alone can grant them rights of citizens and their homeland alone can fit them into normal conditions. The first step in this direction should be cessation of persecution and terror directed against those displaced persons who expressed their wish to return to their homeland, cessation of propaganda which is hostile to their Homeland. Displaced Persons should be urged to return home.

The Soviet Government has developed certain measures in order to solve the problems of "displaced persons". During discussions with the Official Delegation from the German Federal Republic (West Germany) in September, the President of the Council of Ministers of USSR N. A. Bulganin raised the question regarding the Soviet displaced persons and their return to the Soviet Union.

Talking about Soviet citizens retained in West Germany, he said that the Soviet Union considers it its duty to do something to defend these citizens as well. He expressed his hope that those who acted against their Homeland will change their ways and that no severe reprisals will be used against them.

Taking into consideration the great successes achieved by the Soviet People in all branches of their economy and culture and also the end of hostile relations between the Soviet Union and Germany, and being led by the principles of humanness, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of USSR has issued the Decree regarding the Amnesty for all the Soviet citizens who collaborated with the occupiers during the Great Patriotic War at the period of 1941-1945. This Decree which was issued on 17th September 1955 is also extended to the Soviet citizens who at the present moment are residing abroad. The purpose of this Decree is to offer to these citizens a chance to return to an honest life of work and become useful members of society. Analogous measures had been taken in Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia and other countries for facilitating repatriation of their citizens.

At the 10th Session of the General Assembly the Delegation of the Soviet Union presented a project of a resolution which would charge the governments of the countries harboring displaced persons to transfer all their cases to the Supreme Commissar for Refugee Problems at the United Nations Organization who would be charged to (a) conduct among the displaced persons and refugees the explanatory work in connection with their repatriation. All propaganda hostile to their places of origin should be barred; (b) to provide refugees with information regarding measures taken by the governments of their countries with regard to their repatriation; (c) take all possible measures for providing work for those displaced persons who are still unemployed.

The suggestion made by the Soviet Delegation was declined by the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, and some other Western powers. This fact proves that the forces which are interested in procrastination of the solution of refugee problems are still active.

It is very unfortunate that the Supreme Commissar for Refugee Problems is on the side of these forces. Speaking recently at a Press conference, he expressed himself against the suggestion of the Soviet Union regarding assistance for repatriation of displaced persons. He said that his task consists in taking into consideration the wishes of displaced persons but that he would refrain from encouraging them to return home. When asked whether the "displaced persons" were informed regarding the statement of the Soviet Government concerning their return to the Homeland without any obstacles, he answered that it was not his duty to spread information regarding statements made by the Soviet Union or any other country.

Having declined the suggestion of the Soviet Union, the General Assembly failed to do anything in the way of trying to solve the refugee problem, but let it remain in the same unsolved way. This situation is highly unsatisfactory to the countries interested in a solution of the problem as well as to the displaced persons. The United Nations Organization has no right to stand as a disinterested observer while thousands of people are exposed to misery and terror in foreign countries. They expected the United Nations Organization to take energetic measures for making it possible for them to return home to their families and peaceful work.

(P. 1)

SOVIET CITIZENS WANT TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMELAND

In his interview with a correspondent of the Dusseldorf newspaper "Welt am Sonntag" (The World on Saturday), the President of the Red Cross in West Germany, Dr. Veitz, declared that there are Soviet, Polish, and Czech citizens who have expressed their wish to return to their homes and their families. This statement unmasks the lies spread by some other representatives of Bonn on this subject.

(P. 2)

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE EUGENE GRINYUK AND HIS "CASE"

Eugene Grinyuk, married to a German girl, was afraid to return home because he had been a member of a German military unit during the war. Believing promises of skillful American agents, he departed to Brazil. In South America he was not happy because it was hard to find any work and the feelings of the native population were not friendly to foreigners. Soon Eugene realized that

there was no life for him away from his native country. He spent all the cash he had in order to return to Europe. Being not at all sure about the reception he would meet at the Soviet Embassy, he presented himself at the Committee in Eastern Berlin. Here he was told that there was no reason why he could not be repatriated to the Ukraine at once. All he had to do was to pack up and come back.

This happened on the 4th of June. On the next day his son Hartmuth appeared at the Committee in order to notify us that his father was under arrest in Western Sector of Berlin. The Soviet Committee and Consulate demanded explanation of this measure taken against a Soviet citizen.

While detaining Grinyuk in jail, Frankfurt judges and wardens tried to intimidate Eugene and dissuade him from returning to his native country. By what right did they detain him in a foreign country? Was it one of the example of the proverbial bourgeois human way of life? We should rather define it as an act carried out at the order given by dark forces which hate human principles, which sow dissention and hostility among nations.

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POLES, CZECHS, AND HUNGARIANS RENOUNCE THE "GOLDEN WEST"

Prague: A group of 19 Czechs and Slovaks has returned to Czechoslovakia. These persons have escaped from their country under the influence of foreign propaganda. Today they are happy to be back home.

Budapest: The Hungarian citizens who returned to their Homeland recently, have addressed an open letter to their compatriots abroad advising them to return to Hungary. They pointed out that as soon as they returned, they were given employment corresponding to their qualifications.

HOMELAND PROPAGANDA EXHIBIT NO. 5

SOLICITOR'S OFFICE

[Translation—Homeland Foreign Political Propaganda]

Za Vyartanne na Radzimu. No. 8. Berlin, September 1955. A weekly periodical for *Foreign Consumption*. Mailed in Berlin (For the Return to Homeland) in Byelorussian

(P. 1)

CHILDREN REPRESENT OUR FUTURE

Love to one's Homeland is a natural feeling with which every man is born. It is difficult to live in the countries ruled by capitalists. Everything in these countries is based on profits and exploitation of workers. Fate of children in these countries is hopeless. How can children be happy in the countries where the official policy consists of the inhuman idea of depopulation of the world. Bourgeois governments state that there is not enough work and bread because too many children are being born. They claim that it is because of the overpopulation that epidemics, famines, and bloody wars take place. It is with a stupid indifference that bourgeois statistics register the increasing mortality among the children.

The children living in our Homeland are happy. They are loved and taken care of. We have organized for them schools, kindergartens, pioneer camps. In foreign countries children are pale, hungry, sick. Tuberculosis is prevalent in capitalistic countries.

People who love their children must think of their future. They must not permit their children to be separated from their Homeland, to grow up among indifferent foreigners. Do you want your children to grow up homeless? They will be happy in their own country.

No. 7. Berlin, September 1955

To my dear brother Kurmangaliy Alikbayev:

My dear brother, Kurmangaliy. This is your sister Kulyan who is writing to you, your wife Sarkhyt, and your old mother and father. I am now on my last year at the Institute of Alma Ata, the Capital of Kazakhstan. Father and mother still live in their native village, Tash-Kara-Sue. They are not working. Our father receives the old age pension from the Collective Farm. He also

receives pension from the Government for your younger brother Mukan who was killed in the war. Mother also receives a pension. Your wife Sarkyt works in a Collective Farm already for many years. She wants you to come back to her. My dear Kurmangaliy, I hope that you are listening to my appeal, do not believe to our enemies who try to put into your soul fear and doubts. Return to your Homeland and do your best for your friends who also must come back home.

Until I see you again soon,

Your sister Kulyan Alikbayeva.

Mr. KNOLL. The publications also contain editorials and articles, and letters from individuals in the U. S. S. R. and other Soviet-bloc countries, directed to people in the United States, urging them to return to their native land. There are also letters from former displaced persons thanking the Return to Homeland Committee for aid rendered in their repatriation. These letters and articles describe in favorable terms the living and working conditions behind the Iron Curtain, as contrasted with the alleged miserable existence of those who are in the displaced-persons camps in Western Germany, or are laborers or unemployed in the capitalistic countries.

Portions of this propaganda are directed against the United States. According to this literature, the relaxation of admission of displaced persons to the United States is a desperate step undertaken to prevent the growth of a repatriation movement by the displaced persons. It is also reflected that the aggressive United States circles desire to keep the half-starved displaced person masses abroad as a reserve for recruitment of spies and saboteurs for activities against the Soviet Union, or as a source of cheap labor for United States mines and factories.

This propaganda also asserts that amnesty will be granted repatriated citizens of the Soviet-bloc countries who, in the past, allegedly committed crimes against their countries by serving in the intelligence, police force, or similar organizations during the Nazi regime, provided that they are genuinely sorry for such actions and desire to redeem themselves through honest work for their homeland. These people are promised free transportation, food and clothing if they return, as well as good living quarters and fine jobs.

It appears that the "Return to Homeland" propaganda is directed principally to American residents from the Soviet Union and other Soviet-bloc countries, including refugees and displaced persons. This observation is based upon the names of the addressees as shown by postmasters' reports and upon letters the Solicitor's Office has received from certain addressees.

The Post Office Department has continuously cooperated and collaborated with the Bureau of Customs in our efforts to cope with all types of foreign political propaganda. Since the homeland foreign political propaganda appeared in the mails, we quite frequently conferred with Customs officials relative to the passage of this propaganda through the mails. The postmasters and the clerks at the ports of entry are always on the alert for this type of propaganda, and all of our postal facilities are functioning in this respect in accordance with authority granted to us by law. We are also ready and willing to assist the House Un-American Activities Committee in developing facts or procedure pertaining to the interpretation and destruction of this type of foreign political propaganda.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand you have a background of experience in Polish circles in this country, is that correct?

Mr. KNOLL. That is so.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us a word of that background.

Mr. KNOLL. I have been connected with the Polish American Congress, which is an organization organized in 1944 representing practically every Polish Roman Catholic church in the United States, and every Polish fraternal society and many prominent individuals, some members of that congress and Members of our United States Congress, and so forth.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Knoll, in view of your knowledge of this propaganda which is hitting people in the United States of ancestry traced behind the Iron Curtain, and also your intimate association in Polish circles in this country, what is your own personal observations on the effect of this redefection program on people of Polish ancestry?

Mr. KNOLL. I would say that from my observation and association with these organizations during the past 30 or 35 years, the consensus of opinion among the leading Americans of Polish descent is that it has very little effect upon the people who migrated from the central European countries prior to World War I. They have become assimilated and they are now probably enjoying second, and third, and even fourth generations of people from that part of Europe.

However, we feel that people who migrated to the United States subsequent to World War I and prior to World War II—those who came over here and probably were present during the time that Hitler arose to power and also the present Soviet regime—they have difficulties back in the country both in the Ukraine and in the Baltic States, and especially in Poland and Lithuania, and they fear for those people residing in those countries.

On the other hand, we also feel that possibly the 200,000 displaced persons who were granted asylum in the United States by virtue of the displaced persons law—

Mr. ARENS. I think that you will find it is about 400,000.

Mr. KNOLL. The law I think, the quota was 305,000, and then I think it was amended and probably that might be a better figure. That is, the figure you gave.

I was taking it from the observation that I had some time ago. But whatever the number is, the concern is about the displaced person, and the effect upon these people. When they receive a letter and especially speaking from the post-office situation and experience, they protest the reception of these letters. Their fear is not alleviated by the fact that they have relatives, but it can also be safely assumed that when they get these letters they worry about their position in the United States because they have to live up to certain requirements as displaced persons.

They have to register under the Alien Registration Act, and they are also here by virtue of the fact that someone sponsored them in this country and someone put a bond up for them and they have to act in such a way that their actions are compatible with living in this country and they fear that by just simply receiving this information and a letter, especially if first-class mail, it might reflect upon their behavior in this country.

Also, they think it might have something to do with the possibility of deporting them. That arises, we think in the minds of most of the displaced persons, and they have as a whole, in the past 3 or 4 years, been gradually getting into our way of life.

Mr. KEARNEY. I dislike to interrupt, but just pardon me for a moment. Do I understand you to mean that these displaced persons in this country upon the receipt of this first-class mail fear not only

for their relatives back home, but they also fear that Americans might look with suspicion upon them?

Mr. KNOLL. That is in substance correct.

Mr. KEARNEY. They have 2 years?

Mr. KNOLL. They have 2 years; yes. They fear that their position in the United States could become insecure.

The CHAIRMAN. In that connection, you might be interested in knowing that many thousands of these people came to the United States on papers that were fraudulent. They swore that they were born in countries other than the places of their birth, because they feared forcible repatriation. As a matter of fact, I have a bill in the Senate right now, if they will act on it, that will cure that situation.

When we were writing the basic immigration law, we thought we were making it abundantly clear that the Attorney General had the discretionary power to regard as not being important misrepresentations as to the place of birth, or not being material. However, many of these people, you see, greeted the Nazis as liberators. When the Germans invaded Russia, they greeted them as liberators, and many of them joined the German Army. I was in one of the camps in Salzburg and I talked with some of these people. A Russian repatriation team came while I was there. This Russian colonel said, "These people have much to answer for when they get back."

They realize that.

Mr. KNOLL. That is what the amnesty which they declare in some of their publications is directed to, and which was supposedly passed by the Presidium in the Soviet Union. They say all is forgiven. Especially, those who worked in the Nazi concentration camps. They were even in the German Army. They proposed to relieve them of any penalty or punishment by virtue of their position in the concentration camps.

The CHAIRMAN. These same people are confronted with a dilemma of going on and not being citizens, and committing perjury again as to their place of birth when they apply for citizenship and telling the truth and then being confronted with the possibility of deportation.

Mr. ARENS. I think the record at this point ought to reflect the fact that the Immigration and Nationality Act contains for the first time in the history of this Nation a specific provision that no one can be forcibly deported to a country in which it is found he would be subjected to physical persecution.

The CHAIRMAN. We wrote that out in the inequities of the Walter-McCarran Act.

Mr. KNOLL. That is not known to all of these people.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting advertisements in periodicals in the United States which have gone through the mails urging people to return to the Soviet-dominated countries?

Mr. KNOLL. I have seen advertisements, but I speak regarding that as a personal matter. I have seen them, but I do not speak of it in the Post Office Department.

May I continue for a moment. Along with the discussion that I just had regarding the Displaced Persons Act, I have a letter here which I think would be of interest to the members of the committee from a group of displaced persons. I would like, if I may, to read this letter, bearing date of June 8, 1956.

This letter came from a group of people in the State of New Jersey. We have deleted the town so that there would be no reflection upon any of these subjects in that territory. With your permission, I will read this letter.

It is kind of broken up as far as the English is concerned, but nevertheless, this is the context:

"We, the displaced persons, been getting by the mail Communist propaganda here in five different languages, Estonian, Latvian, Litovenian, Ukrainian, and Hungarian languages send here by mail from East Berlin in Germany; this propaganda started in 1955 all from East Berlin, first when the started with small sheets now the mailing large printed sheets over every other month calling us back, it is our duty be back in your own country, and it is your permanent place to be in, we shorten the working hours and raise the pay 30 percent, don't slave there the don't want you there where you are now slaving your life out.

"We are very sorry we could not give our names and addresses in this letter; we are in fear of danger same as five Russian seamen been kidnaped from here, most of us are as citizen now, only small part old people not citizens at present time, all we ask you kindly to stop the propaganda mail coming over so we can live peacefully; we dont want their propaganda here and we dont want to be victims.

"Enclose herewith few printed propagandas to you to see what kind mail is coming over, this propaganda is in Estonia language, the last one received here early in May this year."

"Respectfully yours,

"ONE OF THE VICTIM."

Mr. ARENS. Would you make it clear what that letter is, Mr. Knoll? I do not believe our record is absolutely clear on it.

Mr. KNOLL. This letter was sent to the Post Office Department as late as last Friday, and enclosed some of the Homeland propaganda which I think 5 or 6 displaced persons received. This is their protest.

Mr. ARENS. Before we proceed any further, may I ask Mr. Horvath—who has heretofore on this record identified himself and his occupation in the Government—do you have an intimate contact with the Czech people in this country through the various Czech organizations?

Mr. HORVATH. Not so much, sir; but going through the publications, the Czech publications, especially this one, the Voice of Home, which is issued by the committee for the protection of persons who, according to this, shall return to Czechoslovakia, issued from Prague. This not only delves into this question, hoping that all of these escapees shall return, and they promise them everything in the world, as these other gentlemen mentioned.

They are also very much anti-American, this particular issue, in all other phases. I could give you an example. They twist the words of Radio Free Europe, and they claim they are getting panicky, and their hes are not being listened to by the people because the Czechs and the Slovaks, as being intelligent, are undermined, and then they quote statements from the various letters which after reading this type of letter so many times, you can practically see that they are just children in some respects.

Mr. ARENS. Are you in a position to give the committee your reaction to this Homeland program on people of the Czech nationality in the United States?

Mr. HORVATH. I would say anyone who was young, and by that, I mean, let us say, a minor, under 21, would be very much affected by this, because first of all, you must admit that the very fact that he escaped, he would be classified as being adventurous. He knew what he wanted to do.

However, he could be affected because again all of these things, if he left someone behind on the other side very close to him—and these people surely go into that very deeply and try to emphasize the fact that they should be with their families and with their wives and chil-

dren and so on—he could easily be influenced and without much ado would probably go back again and defect from our side.

Mr. ARENS. You feel there is a definite prospect that the youngsters of the Czech race in this country would be induced by this literature to return to Czechoslovakia?

Mr. HORVATH. Yes, and there is another thing, that I would like to point out. Our neighbors in Canada, although we may not be interested in this very much, but this bears on my statement, many of them went to Canada. They were unable to come into the United States so they went to Canada and they have friends here. So, what happens?

The people here, in America, get this publication and they also keep in touch with this person in Canada, who usually is a younger person. They would perhaps send them something, some kind of a publication bearing on this thing which these people being in Canada are all alone, and they have no relatives, and nobody there. In other words, it would seem an American would not send something like this over there, but according to the statements in their newspapers they point out cases where these people from other countries are asking advice on what to do because they received word from America and they even tell the names of the cities where they receive these publications, and so on.

What happens, in that way, is another reason why a thing like this should be stopped.

Mr. FISHMAN. I think Mr. Horvath is trying to point out that a lot of this material having been received in the United States by people of Czechoslovakian origin, have a tendency to forward it on to friends of theirs in Canada, and these people in Canada receiving it from the United States, take a lot of it for granted and say, "This must be true, it comes from the United States."

Mr. ARENS. May I ask you gentlemen, Have you given thought to any improvements that you would like to suggest either in the law or in the procedures to undertake to cope with this situation, besides just merely exposing it, as we are doing here today for the benefit of the American people?

Mr. FISHMAN. If I may add my comment on that, or at least make some explanation of it, I think one of the most significant features of bringing the matter to the attention of the American public would be to calm a lot of the fears which now exist among recipients of this material.

Many of them are unaware of the fact that this is a program, that it is part of the general propaganda program, but they think it is something which has been singled out to be sent to them as an individual.

We have had many complaints sent to us directly from the recipients of this material, and some of it has come to us by way of Members of the Congress and the Senate. In almost every case, the individual receiving this mail has asked for advice as to whether he shall move from the city or change his name, and so on and so forth.

I think by bringing it to the attention of the public as being part of a general program, that thousands of these things are sent simultaneously, it would, to some extent, calm the fears of these people, and perhaps the program itself will die of disinterest.

The CHAIRMAN. That is one of the purposes of this series of hearings. We hope that the people of the United States will be made aware of what this real situation is.

Mr. KEARNEY. Would not one of the mediums through which this answer could be made, for instance, be through the Polish American

Congress, and your Czechoslovakian societies and other societies here in this country?

Mr. KNOLL. That would be a very, very strong medium, because in these organizations they have large fraternal societies. For instance, the Polish National Alliance has a publication which sends out 375,000 papers every 2 weeks. That is an organ publication here in the United States.

Of course, I think that if they gathered enough material and kept that in its publication and ran a plan of education so that it would finally and ultimately reach these people, it would be very very helpful.

It would alleviate the fears tremendously and undoubtedly keep a good many of them from defecting.

Mr. KEARNEY. My reason for that thought of opinion was that it might be better coming from their own people rather than, we will say, from myself.

Mr. KNOLL. I might say this, Congressman, that that is true, but at the same time I think that if it comes, to a great extent through the American press and if they are cognizant of the fact that the United States Congress and especially this committee is desirous of making this known to these people, it would have a twofold effect.

It would have a voice with authority speaking here from Congress itself, and it would have a tremendous effect also.

Mr. ARENS. And also, it is the concern of this committee in this series of hearings that there be established proper control of passports, and it might be well, would it not, gentlemen, if the Passport Office of the Department of State would be cognizant of the exposure here today so that the Passport Office would be able to advise people who might be applying for passports pursuant to this propaganda what they might be up against?

Mr. KNOLL. I think that that would be very effective.

Mr. KEARNEY. With particular reference to the section that the chairman spoke about a while ago.

Mr. ARENS. Is there some further item you would like to bring before the committee? We do not want to take up your time, but if you have another item of information on this subject matter, we would be very happy to have it.

Mr. FISHMAN. I cannot think of anything. I think in response to the chairman's question this morning, we definitely are planning, or at least we are attempting to apply the rule he spoke of, having ascertained that several publications are part of a format of a complete group of five or six thousand such publications, we have tried within the authority we have, to apply the same rule to all of these publications, without in each case getting the privacy waived.

The CHAIRMAN. I would never advocate winking at the law, but it certainly seems to me if you were to proceed on that theory, there would be no one to question the legality of what you did. Certainly, if you opened a bundle of mail such as was exhibited here this morning, and it developed it was propaganda material, do you suppose that the senders of that mail would lodge a protest with the officials?

Mr. FISHMAN. We doubt that.

The CHAIRMAN. It seems to me, that you should not be required to be as vigilant in observing the sanctity of a man's castle in this regard as you would be ordinarily. We are dealing with an extraordinary situation.

Mr. KNOLL. Could I say this, Mr. Chairman, in response to your question as to what could be done: It is only recently that the Post Office Department has been receiving these letters from the addressees, and it is from these letters we received from the addressees that we are able to observe the type of envelope, and the return address and the postmarks and then to compare them with the type of envelopes in the bundles we receive in large quantity in first-class mail.

That has only occurred within the last few months, and that is the reason that we are getting at the idea of considering the opening of the first-class mail in the event that we have reasonable grounds to do so from our observations of a pattern of letters being received and opened voluntarily by the addressee, and then sent in to us.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to take this opportunity to thank you gentlemen and to say to you that in the judgment of this committee you are rendering a great patriotic service. It is too bad that more people do not have the opportunity that you have, to render a service. One of our great newspapers in this country has recently published a series of stories in this field.

It is surprising how many people have written to me about this series of stories, wanting to know whether it is a fact and what we intend to do about it and so on.

You are excused, with the thanks of the committee and of the Congress.

Mr. ARENS. General Kearney asked me if I would pose this question to you gentlemen: Do you have any information respecting the shipment into this country of narcotics in connection with any of this propaganda work?

Mr. FISHMAN. We have had several experiences, or a number of experiences as a matter of fact, on the west coast.

Mr. ARENS. Could you give us just a word about that?

Mr. FISHMAN. We found in individual bundles of magazines, for example, hollowed out spaces into which narcotic preparations have been concealed.

Mr. ARENS. Coming from Red China?

Mr. FISHMAN. Coming from China, through Hong Kong. We have made several dozen seizures, and we think that we may have been able to effectually stop the attempt.

Mr. ARENS. May I ask you, Do you have any information respecting attempted shakedowns, from the standpoint of money, or blackmail of American citizens of foreign ancestry?

Mr. FISHMAN. That was particularly true of the Chinese a number of months ago.

Mr. ARENS. Could you give us an incident or two of that?

Mr. FISHMAN. Again, on the west coast there were many instances of letters being sent asking that money be forwarded to China through Hong Kong, and otherwise, if not relatives would be harmed and imprisoned, and so on and so forth.

We had quite a lot of that at one time, but it has also quieted down. We have attempted wherever we possibly could to confiscate that mail for examination through the San Francisco unit, and we have detected quite a bit of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, gentlemen, and we certainly appreciate your cooperation.

(The hearing on the investigation of the entry and dissemination of foreign propaganda in the United States was recessed subject to the call of the Chair.)

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